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MONROE DOCTRINE.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

DECEMBER 30, 1895.

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Monday, December 30, 1895.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, on the first day of the session I introduced a joint resolution reciting the declaration made by Mr. Monroe in his message of December, 1823, and giving to that declaration the formal sanction of Congress. I had not intended to address the Senate upon that resolution until it had received the consideration of the Committee on Foreign Relations and, as I ventured to hope, been favorably reported by them. But since then the President has sent in his message on the Venezuelan difficulty, and Congress, without a dissenting voice, has authorized the commission which the President requested. This action on the part of the President and of Congress has led to a great deal of discussion and much wild talk. Those persons in this country who, for one reason or another, believe that we should never do anything which can clash with English interests have filled the air with their cries and lamentations. It is true that they are more vocal than numerous, but they are very vocal indeed. This outcry, however, coupled with London's attempt to frighten Congress by producing a stock panic, has tended to confuse the issue and to mislead many persons. When men usually sane cable to London such frantic nonsense as that the Senate is controlled by a jingo mob in the galleries, by "the gentlemen of the pavement," like the French convention during the Reign of Terror, it seems as if a little cool explanation of the real situation would not be out of place. I shall therefore venture to ask the attention of the Senate while I state very briefly the case upon which the President and Congress, charged with the heavy responsibility of government have acted without a dissenting voice. I shall try to show what the Monroe doctrine is, what it means to the United States, and that it is vitally involved in this Venezuelan controversy. I shall also show that this is not a petty question of a South American boundary, but one in which, so far as it concerns us, the safety and the honor of the United States and its place in the scale of nations are all deeply involved.

These are the gravest questions which can confront any people, and must be treated by those charged with the conduct of public affairs with dignity, calmness and firmness. Wild denunciation of public men responsible for the nation's peace and safety and bound to protect her rights are as wholly out of place on the one hand as bluster, threats, and violent language are on the other. The war scare and the war talk do not come from those charged with the responsibility of government, but from outside these walls and chiefly from the stock market and the meetings of the advocates of peace. No responsible public man, let me say now, desires war or seeks in any way to promote it. We do not believe, here at least, that there is any danger of war, but we are all agreed that honorable peace can be most surely maintained by a firm and temperate upholding of the rights and interests of our country.

Two cardinal principles have always governed the United States in their relations with foreign nations. Although in late years these two principles may have been lost sight of, they have never been departed from. The first was laid down by Washington in what was known at the time as the neutrality policy. The doctrine then declared was that we intended as a nation to hold ourselves entirely aloof from European politics, to form no entangling alliances, and to take no part in the affairs of Europe. To-day this proposition seems like a truism, but when it was declared by Washington with reference to the great struggle then going on between France and the rest of Europe it aroused a storm of opposition. As British colonies we had necessarily been involved in European affairs wherever England was engaged. A war in Europe, whether dynastic or territorial, reached always to the American continent. The question of the Spanish

succession filled New York and New England with the horrors of Indian warfare, and when Frederick the Great faced all Europe in arms, Pitt declared that he would conquer Canada upon the plains of Germany. Thus the colonists of North America had come to look across the Atlantic to know whether they would have war or peace, and the habits of thought of one hundred and fifty years were not effaced by the fact that we had achieved our political independence.

When the struggle of the French Revolution began, Americans, still under the influence of the colonial traditions, felt with a natural sympathy that they should join hands with the nation which had helped them to gain their independence. But if this view was natural, it was also colonial. Fortunately for us, we had at the head of our Government a great statesman, who saw, with the clear vision which no passion could dim, that the policy befitting the colonies was wholly unsuited to a nation. As a part of the British Empire the struggles of Europe were vital to us. As the United States of America, as a free and independent nation, we had no concern with them. So Washington laid down the principle of neutrality in the European wars then raging and maintained it in the midst of obloquy and attack. It was left to a later generation to appreciate rightly the far-reaching wisdom and the high courage which dictated the action of our great first President. When Washington went out of office and gave to the country his Farewell Address he stated the principle which he had carried into action in words which cannot be improved and which have been the guide of all succeeding statesmen in the United States upon this point from that day to this:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own stand to go upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

In the years immediately following the retirement of Washington the Government of the United States, despite the change of parties in control of the administration, adhered strictly to Washington's policy. For the protection of American citizens abroad they fought a naval war with the Barbary States, but held rigidly aloof from any connection with European affairs during the troublous times of the First Empire. After the downfall of Napoleon, however, matters in Europe took a new turn. The Holy Alliance consisting of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, was formed with the avowed object of restoring and maintaining the old forms of absolutism which had really been destroyed in the French Revolution, although the statesmen of the Holy Alliance were unable to understand it.

At the congress of Aix la Chapelle in 1818 the views of the Holy Alliance as to the necessity of suppressing all movements against absolutism were strongly advocated. In 1820 another congress was held at Troppau and later at Leybach, and there it was proposed to unite in repressing the revolution which had broken out in Naples. England protested and Austria suppressed the revolt alone. In 1822 another congress met at Verona, this time to deal with the affairs of Spain. There was an insurrection in the Peninsula itself and the Spanish-American colonies were in open revolt. Again it was proposed that the great powers should unite in suppressing these revolutionary movements, and again England declined to take part. A French army crossed the Pyrenees and suppressed the insurrection in Spain. The Holy Alliance desired to go still further and reduce the revolted colonies to subjection. Against this Canning vigorously protested, and it was to this he referred in later times when he made the famous declaration that he had called in the New World to redress the balance of the Old. In pursuance of this policy, Mr. Canning, in August, 1823, proposed to our minister, Mr. Rush, that England and the United States should publish a joint declaration to the effect that, while these two Governments desired no portion of these colonies for themselves, they would not view with indifference any foreign intervention in their affairs or their acquisition by any third power. Mr. Rush replied that the United States would join in this declaration, provided that England would acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies. This Mr. Canning declined to do at the mo-

ment, but he, at the same time, announced to the Prince de Polignac that Great Britain would not permit any European intervention in Spanish-American affairs. It is interesting to observe that the first public proposition looking to the exclusion of Europe from the Western Hemisphere was made by Great Britain and accompanied by a renunciation, on her part, of any desire to acquire new territory there herself.

The schemes of the Holy Alliance made it clear to American statesmen that the time had come when the United States must adopt and declare her policy with reference to the relations of Europe with the Western Hemisphere. Just at the time when Mr. Canning was making his proposals to Mr. Rush, in July, 1823, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, said to Baron Tuyl, the Russian minister, that "we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." The question of our policy in regard to the relations of Europe with the Americas, owing to the projects of the Holy Alliance, had assumed such gravity and importance that President Monroe asked the opinions upon it of Madison and Jefferson. Mr. Madison replied that our relations to the new Republics were such as to call for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade. Mr. Jefferson said:

The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe.

The words of Jefferson may be commended to the attention of those persons who think the operations of a foreign power in South America of less importance than the temporary price of stocks.

The result of the consultations thus held by President Monroe and of the views of Mr. Adams, which he strongly urged, appeared in the following passages of the President's message of December 2, 1823:

In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.

In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European powers we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

These extracts contain what has ever since been known as the Monroe doctrine. The principle which it laid down was the necessary corollary of Washington's neutrality policy and covered three points. First, no more European colonies on these continents; second, no extension of the European political system to any portion of this hemisphere; third, no European interposition in the affairs of the Spanish American Republics. That part of the declaration which related to European intervention was received by Great Britain with approval, and was warmly praised by Mr. Brougham, Sir James McIntosh, and Lord John Russell, some of whose remarks have been already quoted to the Senate by the Senator from Illinois in his able speech upon this question. In the succeeding Administration President Adams, who may be considered as the real author of the Monroe doctrine, and Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, attempted to draw closer the bond between ourselves and the South American Republics by the Panama Congress, and Mr. Adams reiterated the Monroe doctrine in his message of March 15, 1826. In the course of the debate upon sending the delegates to the Panama Congress Mr. Webster spoke as follows:

I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will neither help to erase it or tear it out; nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted.

it did honor to the sagacity of the Government, and I will not diminish that honor. It elevated the hopes and gratified the patriotism of the people. Over those hopes I will not bring a mildew; nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame.

The Panama Congress, owing to the question of slavery, came to nothing as far as the United States was concerned, but the passages which I have quoted show sufficiently the view taken of the doctrine by our leading statesmen at the period of its declaration. In 1845 President Polk reiterated the Monroe doctrine, and spoke as follows:

The existing rights of every European nation should be respected; but it is due alike to our safety and our interests that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American Continent.

Three years later President Polk in a special message called the attention of Congress to the appeal of the white population of Yucatan for help against the Indians. They offered to transfer Yucatan to the United States. The President stated that while he did not recommend the acquisition of Yucatan, he advised its temporary occupation in order to prevent its passing into the hands of any European power, which would be an infringement of the Monroe doctrine. A bill was introduced for the occupation of Yucatan, and was opposed by Mr. Calhoun on the ground that the Monroe doctrine was only intended for the temporary purpose of resisting the schemes of the Holy Alliance. The war in Yucatan came to an end, and the bill never reached a vote. The incident is of interest only as showing that Mr. Polk's Administration sustained the Monroe doctrine in its widest application, and that Mr. Calhoun is the only American statesman of any standing who has tried to limit its scope.

Thus far I have merely sketched the history of the doctrine to show the view taken of it by all our Administrations and by all our statesmen, with one exception. I now come to the only attempt which has been made by an outside power to break down the Monroe doctrine and set it at naught. In 1861 Great Britain, France, and Spain entered into a convention to unite in compelling the payment of certain claims which they held against Mexico. When the allied troops disembarked at Vera Cruz it was discovered that the Emperor of the French intended to go much further than had been agreed upon, and to do nothing less than place an Austrian prince upon the Mexican throne. Thereupon England and Spain withdrew, and France was left to carry on her design alone. At that time our hands were tied by our great civil war, but we at once demanded explanations from France, and continued to protest against her conduct. During the entire period of the French occupation we recognized only the government of Juarez. Mr. Seward consistently pressed our views upon France, and the proceedings of the French were denounced in Congress with so much indignation that in 1863 we were on the verge of war. The moment the civil war was over Mr. Seward at once demanded the withdrawal of the French troops. Our hands were free, and General Sheridan, with a powerful army, was ordered to the Mexican frontier. Under this pressure, after some months of diplomatic delay, the Emperor was forced to give way. The French troops were withdrawn, and the Emperor's Mexican conspiracy, which had begun with treachery and bad faith, ended in humiliation, failure, and the execution of the unfortunate Maximilian. When Napoleon sent out his expedition English writers hastened to declare that he had done a great political service by extinguishing the Monroe doctrine, but when our war was over and we had forced the French armies from Mexico and destroyed the wretched empire they had tried to set up, it was plainly seen that the Monroe doctrine had been signally vindicated and that an attempt to infringe it had brought nothing but shame and disaster to the European power which had made the experiment. Sir Edward Creasy, a distinguished English historian with a greater sense of truth than those writers who had exulted over the buccaneering enterprises of the French, speaks as follows in his "First Platform of International Law":

The United States (occupied by their own civil war which was then raging) did not actually send troops to oppose the French in Mexico, but they steadily refused to recognize Maximilian, or any other government except a republican government, in Mexico; and the language of their statesmen exhibited the fullest development of the Monroe doctrine.

Since 1823 there have been many cases in which the Monroe doctrine has been cited and discussed, but until the present time the French invasion of Mexico has been the only instance in which it has been openly disregarded and actually infringed by a European power. A second case has now arisen, and the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine is again threatened as it was by the French in 1862. This second attack upon the principles of the Monroe doctrine comes from Great Britain, and is made under cover of a boundary dispute with Venezuela, while Lord Salisbury in his letter to Mr. Olney openly assails the validity of the doctrine itself. To understand the importance of this controversy and how

deeply the very existence of the Monroe doctrine is involved in it, it will be necessary to trace very briefly the history of the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, which has now reached a crisis affecting most gravely the honor, the interests, the rights, and the well-settled policy of the United States.

The dispute over the boundaries of Guiana is an inheritance bequeathed to Venezuela and Great Britain by Spain and Holland. The successful revolt in 1810 of the South American colonies of Spain established the independence of what is now known as Venezuela. That independence was finally recognized by Spain in a decree on the 27th of May, 1845, in which Her Catholic Majesty Dona Isabel II expressly renounces the sovereignty of the American territory known "under the old name of Captaincy General of Venezuela, now Republic of Venezuela." Among the thirteen provinces enumerated in this act of renunciation and cession is the Province of Guiana, which measures 20,149 square leagues while the remainder of the Republic measures only 20,149 square leagues. It is the controversy over the control of this vast expanse of territory, rich in minerals, fertile in soil, and drained by navigable rivers, which has now reached such an acute stage.

Great Britain's claim is derived from Holland. By the treaty of the 13th of August, 1814, the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were ceded to Great Britain, and the supplemental agreement called for by the terms of the treaty subsequently confirmed this partition. Unfortunately, the lines of demarcation between Venezuela and British Guiana were not specifically defined in either of the treaties above mentioned—a circumstance England has not overlooked. It therefore becomes a question of paramount importance in any examination into the merits of this controversy to determine by other means the territorial jurisdiction of Spain in 1810, and of Holland in 1814. The earlier treaties, documents and ordinances are happily ample and explicit upon these points. Lord Salisbury now puts forward a claim to title based on conquest and military occupation in 1796, but as the treaty which confirmed these conquests only describes them as the establishments of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, this new claim does not affect the argument except as a mere assertion.

It is hardly worth while to do more than barely allude to the fact that the northern part of South America belonged to Spain by virtue of original discovery. There is no principle of the law of nations now better established than the doctrine of discovery. Calvo, an eminent authority upon international law, says:

The discovery of America and those (discoveries) which have been made at the close of the Middle Ages in Asia and Africa have introduced into international law a new mode of acquisition and possession. We speak of the priority of discovery, of the first occupation, and of colonization.

It is beyond dispute that what is now Venezuela and British and Dutch Guiana was originally Spanish territory.

Columbus discovered the mouth of the Orinoco in 1498. In the following year Alonso de Ojeda, a Spanish subject, made further discoveries in the same region. In 1500 Vicente Yanez Pinzon, a companion of Columbus, explored the principal mouths of the Orinoco. In 1531 Diego de Ordaz navigated this river as far as the mouth of the Meta. These acts of discovery and exploration on the part of Spain were soon followed by colonization. For many years her only rival in South America was Portugal, and in the treaty of 1750 between these two powers Portugal bound herself to recognize and support the right of Spain to territory lying between the Amazon and the Orinoco. Thus Portugal, the only country that can claim with Spain the honor of original discovery, solemnly recognized the justice of the Spanish contention to what is now disputed territory. It is interesting to note in this connection that a few years later (5th of March, 1768) a royal cedula fixed the Amazon as the southern limit of Spanish Guiana.

It was not until the northern coast of South America had been substantially preempted by discovery that Holland began to seek a foothold in that part of the New World. During their long war of emancipation the Dutch had succeeded in planting several colonies in Guiana. When Spain, whose vassal Holland had been, became a party to the treaty of Munster in 1648, she legalized the Dutch pretensions. By article 5 each power was to retain territory already possessed and held in the East and West Indies and on the coast of Asia, Africa, and America. It was further stipulated that neither power should molest or disturb the garrisons and strongholds of the other. This treaty proved to be a fruitful source of misunderstanding and irritation. Each power soon came to accuse the other of violating its provisions. Dutch expeditions beyond the Essequibo were repulsed and driven back by the Spaniards repeatedly, and there is no evidence to show that Spain ever acquiesced for a single moment in the Dutch pretensions to a rood of land west

of the Essequibo. On the contrary, when the director-general of the Dutch colony of Essequibo, on the 30th of September, 1758, sent a note of protest to the Spanish authorities complaining that the Spanish troops had molested and driven the Dutch away from a post which stood on one of the banks of the Cuyuni, a vigorous response was returned saying "that the river Cuyuni and its dependencies belonged to His Catholic Majesty, and that consequently, as the Dutch had entered the Spanish dominion, he would make no restitution." The river referred to there, let me say, is far to the east of the Orinoco and Point Barima, where the Schomburgk line ends.

It does not appear that the Dutch sought to continue further these diplomatic amenities. That they made spasmodic attempts at further extension is unquestioned, and on these Lord Salisbury in his reply to Secretary Olney appears to rely, but it is equally certain that none of their attempts ever attained anything like the dignity of permanent and recognized settlements, or were ever admitted by Spain. Indeed, in 1788 Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who had been sent by the Spanish governor of Guiana to explore the Cuyuni River as far as the limits of the Dutch colony, presented his report. In it he said:

That having descended the river as far as the curve which it makes, in order to pour into the Essequibo, where the possessions of the Dutch colonies commence, he found the first Dutch houses at the mouth of the Masaruni, i. e., precisely at the curve, no new territories having been encroached upon by them up to that time.

This, then, was the situation in 1791 when, on the 23d of June, a treaty of extradition was concluded at Aranjuez between Spain and Holland. The objects of this treaty, as defined in the preamble, were for "the mutual restoration of deserters and runaways between their respective colonies" and to "put a stop to desertion and its pernicious consequences." The first article of the treaty recites that "complaints of desertion have been more frequent, to wit, between Puerto Rico and St. Eustace, Coro and Curacao, the Spanish establishments on the Orinoco and Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam." An examination of the map to-day shows that the British province of Berbice extends from Surinam to the River Berbice, Demerara from the Berbice to the Demerara, and on the same principle the province of Essequibo would extend from the Demerara to the River Essequibo, which may or may not include the valley watered by that stream. We have just seen, also, from the preceding report (1788) that the Dutch establishment of Essequibo did not extend beyond the mouth of the Masaruni, and certainly it is a fair inference to assume that the Dutch themselves did not put forward any serious claim to territory virtually beyond the Essequibo. This presumption is further supported, indeed, by Dutch testimony of the most unimpeachable sort. No less an official than Mr. Six, secretary of the Dutch East India Company, sent in 1794 a communication to Senor Corral, the Spanish minister to Holland, in which he makes the following significant admission:

The captain, pilot and crew of the Spanish merchant ship *Neustra Señora de la Concepcion*, after having been perfectly well treated by the governor-general of Surinam, were conveyed to Morocco, west of the Essequibo, as having been Spanish territory, so that they could thence go as on their own land to the nearest Spanish-American town.

Clearly, then, the River Moroco, by common consent and by the admission of the Dutch in 1794, was a Spanish possession, and the Moroco is far to the east of the Orinoco and the Schomburgk line. There could be no dispute by the Dutch to territory beyond the Moroco. Their broadest claim in 1794 was confined to the few leagues between the Moroco and the Essequibo.

Of the Dutch colonies enumerated in the treaty of Aranjuez three, to wit, Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, as stated at the outset, were substantially ceded to England by the treaty of London of the 13th of August, 1814. By this act of alienation England succeeded to the title of Holland. England is entitled to every foot of territory that was Dutch in 1814, and to nothing more. Venezuela is heir to the rights of Spain and nothing more. No act of aggression or encroachment since can change or alter the relative position of the two countries. No new rights have accrued to either side since the 13th of August, 1814.

What Holland's claim included in 1791 and 1794 we have already seen. It is absurd to say that any Dutch aggressions beyond the Essequibo subsequent to 1794 and prior to 1814 conveyed to Holland any color of title by prescription. A period of something less than a quarter of a century is hardly "time immemorial" within the meaning of the rule. Neither will it be seriously contended that such Dutch occupation of disputed territory as did occur was "peaceable." It is manifest, then, that any claim to a title by prescription must be invalid. Still less is it necessary to fortify Spain's claim by any supplemental quotations from further ordinances and decrees. It may be said in passing, however, that the list is by no means exhausted. Among other additional and confirmatory evidence that the Spanish boundary terminated only with the Essequibo, refer-

ence may be had to the following documents: Note of Gregorio Espinosa, governor of Cumana, 1st of February, 1742; order of 4th of February, 1779, giving directions for establishing settlements in the eastern part of Guiana; report of Felipe de Inciarte, 1st of November, 1779; Royal mandate of 1st of October, 1780, demanding the aforesaid Inciarte to drive the Dutch away from land at the northwest of the Essequibo as "trespassers."

We have, however, very fortunately, some important independent testimony as to the boundaries during this period between 1794 and 1814. In 1801-1804 the French geographer and agent of the French government at Caracas, explored this country and published the result of his explorations and of his examination of historical documents in three volumes, with maps, in 1805. Mr. De Pons says: "These boundaries are established by treaties at the River Essequibo, forty leagues or more southward of the Orinoco." He then adds, "the Dutch have, disregarding treaty lines, encroached on the Spanish possessions eight or ten leagues running northwest, and encouraged the Carib Indians"—then under Spanish dominion—"not to recognize any foreign power." He shows at length how the Spaniards have repeatedly declared this region to be theirs and have planted in it some forty villages. In his map he gives to the Dutch their encroachment of eight or ten leagues, extending to Cape Nassau, some thirty leagues from the mouth of the Orinoco, the point of the modern British claims. In 1820-1823 William Sabon, geographer to the King and to the Prince of Wales, published a map, in which he gives the same boundaries to the British possessions as De Pons gave to the Dutch, very clear proof that at the time of the treaty of 1814, and for several years after, England, so far as her geographers knew, made no claim whatever to any land west of Cape Nassau. Maps, of course, abound. There are many of the eighteenth century and earlier, made for the most part by men who had never left their own country, which give every sort of boundary. These are of value only as showing the opinion of the map-maker. The importance of the De Pons map is that it was made by a man who had thoroughly explored the country, and that it was accepted as authoritative by English geographers as late as 1823.

Having determined at some length and with reasonable precision the western limitations of Dutch Guiana, to which, and to which only, England succeeded in 1814, it now becomes pertinent and proper to inquire how far England has respected or rather ignored these boundaries and to trace step by step her aggressions upon the soil of her weaker neighbor. For many years the question of boundary between Venezuela and England was held in abeyance. Venezuela for a long time was a part of the old Columbian Confederation and too busy with her own internal problems to pay much heed to the more remote question of the boundary of her eastern frontier. Perhaps the earliest, as it certainly is one of the most significant, incidents of this whole controversy occurred in 1836. On the 26th of May of that year Sir Robert Ker Porter, the then British minister at Caracas, requested the Venezuelan government in an official note to place light-houses and other marks at Point Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco River, as an aid to navigation. This voluntary act of Sir Robert Ker Porter was a most complete admission of Venezuela's sovereignty over the Orinoco. The modern British claim that the Dutch had occupied Point Barima long before the treaty of Munster probably did not occur to Sir Robert. Indeed, it seems altogether likely that he only had to mind the treaty of Aranjuez of 1791, already alluded to, in which the Dutch themselves distinctly recognized "the Spanish establishments on the Orinoco." This dispatch was a part of the archives of the British legation at Caracas for half a century, and it was not until 1887 that the then British minister, on being confronted with it, took the pains to disavow this act of his predecessor on the ground that it was without the "knowledge or authority of the British Government." Indeed, about the time that Sir Robert dispatched his now famous note, there are various other acts which go to show that the agents of the British Government were unaccountably ignorant of what have since come to be "undoubted British rights" in Guiana.

In the latter part of the same year (1836) the British governor of Demerara, in a note printed among the Parliamentary papers, made the statement that the Pomaron River, west of the Essequibo and east of the Moroco, could be taken as the limit of the English colony. Further, in September or October of 1840, an Englishman was arrested and tried for having killed an Indian. His counsel succeeded in showing that the crime had taken place in the territory of the Moroco, whereupon the British tribunal promptly acquitted him on the ground that it had no jurisdiction, the act having been committed in a foreign territory. Thus we see that in 1840 a British court in Demerara had judicial cognizance of the fact that the territory of the Moroco was Venezuelan territory and outside British jurisdiction. The governor of Guiana informed his Govern-

ment of these facts in a dispatch dated 23d of August, 1841. It is not known that the British Government, either then or since, in any way disavowed these acts of its accredited agents.

Meanwhile the reports of the discovery of rich gold fields in the territory of the Yuruari reached London, and the English ministry soon began to display a lively concern in the boundary question. In 1841, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Schomburgk, who was sent out first under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society to explore the country in 1834, surveyed and laid out a line of demarcation. It does not appear that Venezuela was invited to cooperate in a work which affected her interests so vitally. The British consul, it is true, informed Venezuela of Schomburgk's mission, but the vigorous protest of the latter Government went unheeded and ignored. Schomburgk continued his survey and staked out the famous "Schomburgk line." This survey included the whole seaboard between the Essequibo and the Amacuro (which finds its outlet at the mouth of the Orinoco) and a vast section in the interior. One of its conspicuous features was the erection of a sentry box and the planting of a British flag at Point Barima at the mouth of the Orinoco. The Venezuelans, not without a touch of humor, have uniformly contented themselves in all of their published maps by referring to this line as "capricious," and Schomburgk in his original map and report speaks of his line as the British claim, not boundary. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the British Government of that period took much the same view, for Lord Aberdeen, then prime minister, in reply to the urgent remonstrance of the Venezuelan minister at London, said, on the 11th of December, 1841, that the survey had been undertaken merely as a "preliminary step" to further discussion between the two Governments, and not, as the Venezuelan Government seemed to fear, "with the intention of indicating dominion or empire on the part of Great Britain." He added that he was glad to learn that Venezuela had been able to ascertain that Point Barima had not been occupied by the British authorities. A few weeks later, on the 31st of January, 1842, Lord Aberdeen gave force and effect to this disclaimer by ordering the removal of all the marks set up by Schomburgk.

I have here certain letters which I ask leave to print with my remarks. I will not weary the Senate by reading them. The first one expresses the views of Lord Palmerston in 1840. Lord Palmerston therein suggests for the consideration of Lord John Russell that:

a map of British Guiana should be made out according to the boundaries described by Mr. Schomburgk; that the said map should be accompanied by a memoir, describing in detail the natural features which define and constitute the boundaries in question.

The same idea is very apparent in Schomburgk's report; in fact, he mentions in his memoir, that he laid the line according to the natural boundaries of the territory as he conceived them. He was a botanist and an explorer.

The letter referred to is as follows:

Foreign Office, March 18, 1840.

Sir: I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, inclosing copies and extracts of dispatches and their inclosures from Mr. Light, governor of British Guiana, relative to the expediency of an arrangement being made with the Brazilian, Venezuelan, and the Netherlands Governments by which the boundaries of British Guiana may be accurately defined.

With reference to that part of your letter in which you state that Lord John Russell considers it to be important that the boundaries of British Guiana should be ascertained and agreed upon, if possible, and that Mr. Schomburgk's researches in those parts have qualified him in a peculiar manner to be of use, should the service of any person acquainted with the geography of British Guiana be required for fixing the boundaries of the British territory, I am to state to you that the course of proceeding which Lord Palmerston would suggest for the consideration of Lord John Russell is that "a map of British Guiana should be made out according to the boundaries described by Mr. Schomburgk; that the said map should be accompanied by a memoir, describing in detail the natural features which define and constitute the boundaries in question, and that copies of that map and memoir should be delivered to the Governments of Venezuela, of Brazil, and of the Netherlands as a statement of the British claims; that in the meanwhile British commissioners should be sent to erect landmarks on the ground in order to mark out by permanent erections the line of boundary so claimed by Great Britain." It would then rest with each of the three Governments above mentioned to make any objection which they might have to bring forward against these boundaries, and to state the reasons upon which such objection might be founded, and Her Majesty's Government would then give such answers thereto as might appear proper and just.

Lord Palmerston further considers that it would be expedient that the Brazilian should be required to withdraw from Pirara, and that the officer in command should be informed that any claim which Brazil may imagine itself to have to that village should be stated by the Brazilian Government to that of Great Britain in order that it may be discussed and settled between the two Governments.

I have, etc.,

LEVESON.

JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

Mr. LODGE. I have also a letter from Lord Aberdeen, dated the 31st of January, 1842, in which he speaks of removing the marks which had been put up and explains that he is very glad to meet the wishes of the Venezuelan Government.

The letter referred to is as follows :

Foreign Office, January 31, 1842.

The undersigned, Her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed to him on the 10th instant by Mr. Fortique, plenipotentiary of the Republic of Venezuela, representing the alarm and excitement which have been created in Venezuela on account of the marks fixed by Mr. Schomburgk at different points of his survey near the mouth of the Orinoco, and renewing his request that Her Majesty's Government will order the removal of these marks.

The undersigned begs to inform Mr. Fortique in reply that, in order to meet the wishes of the Government of Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government will send instructions to the governor of British Guiana directing him to remove the posts which have been placed by Mr. Schomburgk near the Orinoco.

But the undersigned feels it his duty distinctly to declare to Mr. Fortique that, although in order to put an end to the misapprehension which appears to prevail in Venezuela with regard to the object of Mr. Schomburgk's survey the undersigned has consented to comply with the renewed representations of Mr. Fortique upon this affair, Her Majesty's Government must not be understood to abandon any portion of the rights of Great Britain over the territory which was formerly had by the Dutch in Guiana.

The undersigned begs to renew to Mr. Fortique the assurance of his high consideration.
ABERDEEN.

Mr. LODGE. I have also another letter of Lord Aberdeen, written on March 30, 1844, in which he discusses first the British claim to all the territory as far as the Orinoco, but closes by saying that they will yield to Venezuela from the line of the Orinoco practically to the Pomaron. He says :

Being convinced that the most important objects for the interest of Venezuela is the exclusive possession of the Orinoco, Her Majesty's Government is ready to yield to the Republic of Venezuela a portion of the coast sufficient to insure her the free control of the mouth of this her principal river and prevent its being under the control of any foreign power.

The letter referred to is as follows :

[Extract from Lord Aberdeen's reply to Dr. Fortique.]

Foreign Office, March 30, 1844.

In 1674 the West India Company, formed in 1627, was dissolved, but a new company was formed and authorized, restricting their rights to trade with certain parts of Africa, the Island of Curacao, and the colonies of the Essequibo and Boneverone (Pumaron), the latter extending, as above stated, as far as the Orinoco.

Pursuing the examination of the authorities, which in more modern times confirm these data, it will be found that in the History of South America by Bolt, published about the middle of the last century, Dutch Guiana is described as extending from the mouth of the Orinoco at 9° as far as the Marawaina to 6° 20' latitude north, that in a map of said coast published in 1783 by Faden, the Orinoco River is established as the western limit of the Dutch, according to their pretensions, and that in a more recent chart published by Jefferys in 1798, the Barima River is described as being the division between the Dutch and Spanish lands. The undersigned must declare that these authorities cannot be rejected, as being English, and therefore, having an interest in this question because, although at the date of the last cited chart the Dutch colony was under the protection of Great Britain, it was restored to the Batavian Republic in 1802, and there is no reason to doubt the testimony of Faden and Bolt, or to accuse them of partiality.

It is doubtful whether the same could be said of La Condamine Bellin and other French writers, whose Government always showed itself to be jealous of the progress of the Dutch in the neighborhood of the settlement of Cayenne.

But, in reality, no doubt can exist that the mouth of the Orinoco was not only claimed by the Dutch as the western limit of their possessions, but also that from the very beginning they effected its military occupation and retained possession of it. Hartsinck says, "The first rivers found in Dutch Guiana coming from the Orinoco are the Barima, about one mile in width, where in olden times we had a fort." There exist documents of the West India Company showing that directors recommended to the commander of Pumaron to keep the Barima fort in good condition. Colonel Moody found the ruins of these fortifications when, in 1807, the English occupied the coast and were preparing to send some forces to Angostura to destroy buccaneers that were pillaging the coast of Dutch Guiana, and also to fortify that place again. Mr. Schomburgk, when in the discharge of a commission, found the remains of the fort and also of cultivation in the neighboring territory.

The undersigned does not deem further evidence necessary to show how erroneous are the assertions of Señor Fortique when he states that the Essequibo has been considered as a dividing line between the two countries, and that territory lying between that river and the Orinoco has been considered by the world as belonging exclusively to Spain. These statements make the undersigned feel justified in doubting whether Señor Fortique would be supported by his own countrymen in his views, taking into consideration that in the maps of the provinces of Venezuela published four years ago by an officer of the Republic the extreme limits of the Venezuelan eastern claims is the Moroco River, and in truth, to judge from the exaggerated pretensions found in his work on other points, the author is not inclined to sin on the side of generosity with respect to the neighboring British colony.

Were the undersigned inclined to act on the spirit of Señor Fortique's communication, it is evident, by what he has said, that he ought to claim on behalf of Great Britain, as the rightful successor of Holland, all the coast from the Orinoco to the Essequibo, and such claim, aside from all questions of right, would certainly be much less injurious to Venezuela than the pretensions of Señor Fortique as to England, as Venezuela has no settlements on the disputed territory, and the admission or acknowledgment of the Essequibo as the limit of the Republic would, of course, mean that Great Britain should deliver about one-half of the colony of Demerara, including Point Cartabo and the Island of Tkykoveral, where the Dutch founded their first settlement on the Majarini, the mission of Barlika Grove, and many settlements now existing on the Arabisi coast as far as fifty miles from the capital.

But the undersigned believes that the negotiations would not be free from difficulties if the claims that cannot be sustained are presented, and shall not, therefore, follow Señor Fortique's example, but state here the concessions that Great Britain is disposed to make

of her rights, prompted by a friendly consideration for Venezuela, and by her desire to avoid all cause of serious controversies between the two countries.

"Being convinced that the most important object for the interest of Venezuela is the exclusive possession of the Orinoco, Her Majesty's Government is ready to yield to the Republic of Venezuela a portion of the coast sufficient to insure her the free control of the mouth of this her principal river and prevent its being under the control of any foreign power." With this end in view, and being persuaded that a concession of the greatest importance has been made to Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government is disposed to lay aside its rights upon the Amacuro as the western limit of the British territory, and to consider the mouth of the Gulama River as the boundary of Her Majesty's possessions on the coast side. Moreover, Her Majesty's Government will consent that the boundary in the interior be fixed by a line from the mouth of the Moroco to the point where the rivers Barama and Gulama meet, as far as the Aunama, whose upward course will be followed until the stream approaches the point nearest the Acarabisi; then following the downward course of the Acarabisi as far as its confluence with the Cuyuni, it will pursue the upward course of the latter as far as the highlands contiguous to the Boraima Mountains, where its waters are divided between the Essequibo and the River Branco.

Great Britain is then disposed to cede to Venezuela all the territory lying between the above-mentioned line and the Amacuro River and the chain of mountains where it has its head, upon condition that the Government of Venezuela shall engage itself not to alienate any portion of said territory to any foreign power, and also upon condition that the tribe of Indians now living in said territory shall be protected against all ill-treatment and oppression.

The undersigned has the honor to renew to Señor Fortique the assurance of the highest consideration.

ABERDEEN.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, we are told now that Great Britain will not consider any question arising to the east of the Schomburgk line, which terminates at Point Barima on the mouth of the Orinoco. At that time Lord Aberdeen, as may be seen in his letter, considered the Orinoco of vital importance to Venezuela. He was ready to withdraw all their claims, whether they were large or small, to the land in that neighborhood and west of the Moroco practically, in order that Venezuela might control that great stream.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether he is quite sure that the first exploration made by Schomburgk was under the auspices of the Geographical Society, or whether he did not go out from the United States, where he was occupying the position of clerk in a tobacco store in New York, being a botanist and otherwise interested in natural objects, upon a private exploration. After he made the exploration he made his report to the Geographical Society, whereupon they gave him authority to make it more definite, and after that the Government of Great Britain took up the subject.

Mr. LODGE. I will say to the Senator from Alabama that Schomburgk, as he states, was in business in this country, a clerk in a shop. He went to an island, some West Indian island or an island in the neighborhood of South America, of which he made a survey and a map. He sent it to the Geographical Society at London. It was so very well done that the society invited him to make explorations on the mainland. In 1834 he went to Guiana under their auspices. It is so stated in the Parliamentary paper which prints extracts from his letters. He went there in 1834 and explored Guiana, and made a report and wrote a memoir. In that expedition he practically laid down the line as he thought it ought to be. Then the British Government, hearing of this memoir, ordered those portions of it printed which related to the boundary, and they sent him out officially in 1840 to mark out the boundary, which I think it is apparent he had really already surveyed. The Parliamentary paper containing the report or the extracts from his memoir (it is a very rare one; I have never seen more than one copy of it) states in a note that those are extracts from his letters and memoir, and in those he constantly refers to the natural boundaries. He devotes most of his space to discussing the boundary of Brazil on the south, where the serious trouble then was. He devotes very little space, comparatively speaking, to the question of the Venezuelan boundary. He then went out in 1840, as I have said, and officially ran the line which bears his name. He returned to London in 1844, when he was knighted for his services, and, I believe, subsequently came to South America as a British consul.

Mr. DAVIS. Did he only lay down one line?

Mr. LODGE. I think so, although I am not sure. There is what is called an extension of the Schomburgk line, but I think Schomburgk himself laid only one line, although he may have changed his first boundary.

A few weeks later the marks of which I have spoken were removed. In other words, the British Government of that day disavowed the Schomburgk line within which we are now told Great Britain can not assent to arbitration. It required half a century, however, to bring into clearer relief just what really was intended.

in referring to the Schomburgk line as a mere "preliminary step" to future negotiations. Lord Aberdeen abandoned the Schomburgk line in 1841. In 1890 Lord Salisbury, then prime minister, repudiated the act of his predecessor, Lord Aberdeen. This is what he said in a note on the 10th of February to the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs:

Her Majesty's Government cannot accept as satisfactory any arrangement not admitting as English property the territory included within the line laid down by Sir R. Schomburgk.

We can see in this way how that line, from being the mere suggestion of an explorer, based on natural features, has now become an immutable right about which discussion is out of the question.

Popular feeling in Venezuela had been greatly excited by the events connected with the Schomburgk incident. It was in response to repeated instructions from Caracas that the Venezuelan minister in London finally succeeded in opening negotiations. The attempt was abortive in any immediate results. The Venezuelan Government proposed the Essequibo as a frontier, and based its argument upon the ancient maps and treaties. In response Lord Aberdeen proposed the Moroco. This proposition would probably have been accepted as a compromise had it not been accompanied by some offensive and humiliating conditions which forced Venezuela to reject it. Instructions, however, were issued to Senor Fortique, the Venezuelan minister, to suggest suitable modifications, but his sudden death virtually suspended further negotiation for a period of thirty years.

Occasional notes were, however, interchanged, and of these quite the most significant was one addressed by Belford Hinton Wilson, the British chargé d'affaires at Caracas, on November 18, 1850, to the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs. Mr. Wilson, it appears, had become somewhat alarmed "in relation to the existence of a propaganda to mislead and excite public opinion concerning the boundary question." He therefore took this opportunity of saying (I quote from his published letter):

The Venezuelan Government, in justice to Great Britain, cannot mistrust for a moment the sincerity of the formal declaration which is now made in the name and by the express order of Her Majesty's Government, that Great Britain has no intention to occupy or encroach upon the territory in dispute.

The territory in dispute lies between the Orinoco and the Essequibo; most of it between the Schomburgk line and the Essequibo. It was the territory in dispute, according to the authentic utterance of Her Majesty's Government in 1850, and now it is territory which must not even be discussed. A similar assurance from Venezuela was asked for and promptly given. This was of course pending the settlement of the boundary question.

It was not until 1876 that negotiations were again opened, the initiative being taken, as usual, by Venezuela. Dr. José Maria Rojas was sent to London as minister resident, with explicit instructions to terminate the dispute, if possible, in a way honorable to Venezuela. Intimation was conveyed to the British foreign office, in accordance with the spirit of these instructions, that a line of compromise rather than one of strict right would be considered, so anxious was Venezuela to bring about a final settlement. After several years of unremitting endeavor Dr. Rojas was at length rewarded by receiving from Lord Salisbury on the 10th of January, 1880, a statement "of the claim of Her Majesty's Government by virtue of ancient treaties with the native tribes." This revised line of demarcation was found to include not only the old Schomburgk line, but a vast and valuable tract beyond it. Lord Salisbury promised in conclusion to consider, in the "most friendly spirit" any proposition which the Government of Venezuela might see fit to make for the establishment of a limit satisfactory to both nations. The reference to ancient treaties with the native Indian tribes was justly regarded by Venezuela as being involved in a good deal of obscurity. The claim, which was now set up for the first time, was certainly a novel one. The particular treaties and the particular tribes referred to were known to Great Britain alone. Likewise the manner in which these tribes came to be recognized as free and independent, possessed of the attributes of sovereignty, was another diplomatic secret, which was safely guarded within the precincts of the British foreign office. As a matter of fact, the Indians had been for centuries subjects of Spain and Holland, and had long since lost all right to make a treaty with anyone.

In accordance with Lord Salisbury's suggestion that Venezuela submit some proposition "for the establishment of a limit satisfactory to both nations," Dr. Rojas proposed the Moroco, Lord Aberdeen's old divisional line, but shortly afterwards the Beaconsfield ministry fell and Lord Granville became minister of foreign affairs. In a note dated September 15, 1881, Lord Granville declined to accept the Moroco as a boundary, but suggested a line which should begin at a place on the seacoast at a longitude of 29 miles to the east of the right shore of

the River Barima. This proposition was in turn rejected by Venezuela. A few years later a final adjustment of all difficulties between the two countries seemed at length to be in sight. The British Government consented to unite the boundary question with the question of additional duty on merchandise coming from the Antilles and certain indemnity demands made by British citizens against Venezuela. It was proposed to pave the way to an adjustment of all issues and controversies by one treaty. "The proposal to settle by arbitration questions which may arise between the countries," wrote Lord Granville to Gen Guzman Blanco, on the 15th of April, 1885, "meets with the entire concurrence of Her Majesty's Government." An actual convention was drawn up, but before it could be signed the ministry changed. Lord Salisbury, who resumed the foreign portfolio, expressly repudiated the arbitration agreement made by his predecessor, and the negotiations abruptly ended. According to Lord Salisbury, to refer all disputes and controversies to arbitration "would be without precedent in the treaties made by Great Britain." The next attempt to reopen the question came in the following year, when the Venezuelan legation renewed its efforts to secure some satisfactory compromise and suggested arbitration as the means. Lord Rosebery, in July, 1886, replied by proposing a frontier which would include the River Guaima in British Guiana. Coupled to this memorandum was a demand for the free navigation of the Orinoco, which made it impossible.

Meantime the British aggressions in the disputed zone, the region which Great Britain had solemnly promised not to occupy while in dispute, began to be more and more aggravated. Beginning with October, 1884, various marks of British sovereignty were repeatedly set up or posted. Fortifications were thrown up at Barima Point. The Venezuelan commissary at the mouth of the Amacuro was arrested and tried for the alleged ill-treatment of a Portuguese subject. Venezuela protested that the status quo of 1850, not to occupy the territory in dispute, was being flagrantly violated. No heed was paid to this remonstrance. There was under such circumstances but one honorable course for Venezuela to pursue. She broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain on the 20th of February, 1887. Even this, however, did not terminate the efforts of Venezuela to arrive at some understanding with her powerful adversary. She has since made several futile endeavors to refer the whole question to friendly arbitration. The last one was made as late as the spring of 1893, by Dr. Michelena, the confidential agent of Venezuela at London. It went the way of all the others. Lord Rosebery, in 1893, was plainly convinced that his demands of 1886 were too moderate; he re-enforced them by conditions more objectionable than ever. In 1850 Great Britain herself suggested non-intervention in the disputed belt; in 1893 it was quite impossible for England to consent to arbitrate the greater part of this identical territory which had for so many years constituted "an integral portion of British Guiana."

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me for just a moment?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. The Senator from Massachusetts seems to have given the subject great consideration, and I desire to ask him if he can inform the Senate whether Venezuela has ever at any time refused to submit the matter to arbitration.

Mr. LODGE. Never.

Mr. HILL. I asked the question because of a published interview said to have been given out by Mr. Lincoln, in which it was stated that at one period Venezuela had refused arbitration.

Mr. LODGE. I have never met with any instance in which she refused arbitration by itself. So far as I am aware—and I think I have examined all the correspondence—she has sought arbitration constantly. She has rejected some of the compromises offered by Great Britain in which arbitration may have been a feature, but on other grounds. She rejected, for example, one compromise offered by Great Britain, because Great Britain insisted upon the free navigation of the Orinoco. But I do not think that Venezuela has ever rejected arbitration as an independent proposition. On the contrary, she has always sought it.

It will be observed from the brief outline of the dispute which I have given that no new rights have come to England or to Venezuela since 1814, that is, since the declaration of President Monroe. They have the rights of Spain and Holland, respectively, nothing more and nothing less, and are entitled to exactly what those inherited rights give them. In 1836 a British minister acknowledged that Point Barima belonged to Venezuela by asking the Venezuelan Government to erect a light-house there. In 1840 a British court in Demerara declared the territory of the Moroco, far to the east of the Orinoco, to be Venezuelan territory. In 1841 an English explorer laid out a perfectly arbitrary line running from the mouth of the Orinoco in a southerly direction until it reached the southern boundary of British Guiana. Lord Aberdeen disavowed this line and proposed another starting at the river Moroco and going farther

into the interior; Lord Granville proposed another reaching farther to the west; Lord Rosebery another inside the Schomburgk line, but coupled with the free navigation of the Orinoco. In 1893 he proposed a second line, and meantime Lord Salisbury had extended the British claim while he was secretary for foreign affairs. The Statesman's Year Book will show, if anyone cares to examine it, that the British claim upon Venezuela advanced in one year 33,000 square miles. Every British minister has offered a different line within which Great Britain would not consent to arbitrate, and every British minister has gone beyond his predecessor in making fresh claims to territory beyond the line which he offered and about which he would arbitrate. At first sight this seems to denote inconsistency on the part of the British Government, but in reality their course has been just the reverse. There is apparently just as much support for one line as another when they pass beyond the valley of the Essequibo. From Schomburgk down, every line was entirely arbitrary, and the constantly growing claims beyond the various lines offered was in entire keeping with the policy of the British Government. Their object was to get as much new territory as they could if the matter ever came to a settlement, which they have used every artifice to delay.

I do not personally believe that Great Britain has a good claim to a foot of land beyond the Essequibo, for Indian treaties are altogether too flimsy to support any serious contention, and the claim of recent settlement is impossible, as that would entitle England to any vacant land anywhere in North or South America on which a British subject had settled.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether in his researches he has discovered any trace of the Indian treaties alluded to by Lord Salisbury?

Mr. LODGE. I have not. They must be concealed in the British case.

But it is not my purpose to pass upon the merits of either the British or the Venezuelan claim. All I have desired to show and all that it is necessary to show is that there is a dispute as to the ownership of the territory lying west of the Essequibo, and that neither England nor Venezuela holds an uncontested title to any portion of it. That disputed territory either belonged to Holland or it did not. If it did, England ought to have it, and there would not be the slightest disposition on the part of the United States to interfere with her possession of it. If it did not, it belongs to Venezuela, and Venezuela ought to have it. The question is one for the arbitration of an impartial tribunal, and by the decision of such a tribunal the United States would cheerfully abide. But if England, with no authority but a disputed claim, seizes territory and declines arbitration upon it, her action does not differ from seizing and holding new territory in the Americas by the right of conquest. The boundary dispute does not touch the essence of the question, which is the acquisition of new territory in this hemisphere by a European power. Such pretexts can always be found. If England can seize territory under a claim which has grown larger with each succeeding year, there is nothing to prevent her taking indefinite regions in South America. If England can do it and is allowed to do it by the United States, every other European power can do the same, and they will not be slow to follow England's example. We have seen them parcel out Africa, and if we do not interpose now in this case the fate of large portions of South America will be the same. We shall have formidable rivals all about us; we shall be in constant danger of war; and we shall be forced to become a military power with great armies and navies.

The seizure of this South American territory by England is an absolute violation of the Monroe doctrine. It is so in the most literal sense, because Mr. Monroe declared that the Americas were no longer subject to European colonization, and there is no difference in principle between settling a new colony, and under pretext of a boundary dispute, extending indefinitely and unlawfully and by force the bounds of an old colony. It also violates the doctrine, because it oppresses an American State, against which Mr. Monroe specifically declared. But the principle stands on broader grounds than these. I have heard it said that no one knows what the Monroe doctrine is. Mr. President, it is as simple in principle as the Declaration of Independence, to which Jefferson compared it. It is not a doctrine of international law, and the attempt to discuss it or, to oppose it on that ground is a waste of words. Like the independence of this country, it is a question of fact and not of law. The independence of this country is unquestioned, because, having declared it, we compelled the world to recognize it. In the same way we have always acted on the declaration of Mr. Monroe as the guiding principle of our foreign policy. We shall now, I hope, declare it again with the formal sanction of Congress, representing the people of the United States. It is idle to argue either for or against it as a matter of international law, for it requires no such support. We stand by the Monroe doctrine for the same reason that England upholds Afghanistan, and takes the Shan States from China, because it



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